



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

3.—The letters selected from each word are not always those that have the accent; in some cases even the letters provided with accents are not the accented syllables. The sign for *dagesh* is sometimes placed on the letter before that which is doubled.

4.—A word with two accents is divided by a hyphen in the middle of the word.

5.—ס takes the place of ש, the latter being marked by a dot inside the letter on the right (ש). The ס in וּבֹאוּ (xlv. 20) has the mark for *rafeh* (וּבֹאֵ). It is possible that the semicircle indicates in this case the absence of the vowel ו, and וּבֹא is here without the plural ending ו, like יִבֹּאוּ, xlv. 24.

6.—The beginning of a *sedra* is marked by a marginal ס, vi. 13, and xlvii. 6, unless the letter marks the pronunciation of ש occurring in the same line.

7.—To the above-mentioned *variæ lectiones* the following may be added:—v. 16, נִקְדָּשׁ; 20, הָיוּ; 27, לֹא; כְּרוּ; 28, קִשְׁתָּיו; vi. 5, אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ; 6, בְּמִלְחָמָם; vii. 6, מִבְּאֵל; xlv. 20, וּבֹא (?); 24, הַגִּבֹּרִים; xlvii. 5, הַדְּבִירִי; xlvii. 7, לֹא; 10, שִׁוְבָה; 14, לְחַמֵּם; xlviii. 9, אֶחָדָם.

STUDIES IN THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH.

I.—THE NARRATIVES.

THE structure and arrangement of the mingled narratives and prophecies which occupy so large a portion of the book of Jeremiah, afford the student a problem at once fascinating and perplexing. These episodes are carefully dated; they are furnished with editorial introductions, detailing with some particularity the occasions to which they refer; and yet they present a sequence which is utterly without order. Or rather, while in some parts of the book there is an approach to chronological succession, in others it is apparently set at naught. A complete explanation of these inconsistencies is not now attainable, but we can see that they are in great measure due to the insertion in a framework belonging to the reign of Jehoiakim of materials of the age of Zedekiah, or of a still later date, at points which may have been determined by accident or convenience, by the circumstances under which these materials came to the hands of Jeremiah's editors, or by the physical structure of the manuscript which lay before them.

The key to the general arrangement of the book is to be found in a comparison of ch. xxv. with ch. xxxvi. I cannot accept the hypothesis which supposes that ch. xxv. is itself the whole of what Jeremiah dictated to Baruch. To adopt this view we must disregard or alter the text of ch. xxxvi. without any solid ground for so doing. According to that document the original roll of the fourth year of Jehoiakim contained all the prophecies of Jeremiah antecedent to that date, "against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations." The prophecies against Israel and Judah are to be sought, in so far as they have been preserved to us, and with whatever additions, mutilations and transpositions, in chapters i.—xxiv. To these the first part of ch. xxv. supplies a recapitulation and conclusion. Those directed against the nations must be sought, with similar reserves, in chapters xlvi.—li. To them the latter part of ch. xxv. originally supplied an impressive introduction. The Septuagint version makes of it an epilogue.

Possibly Jer. i.—xxv. in its earliest form may have been circulated separately, without the prophecies against the nations; or perhaps these were regarded as forming an appendix. In either case, a supplement consisting mainly of narratives, and including, we may suppose, chapters xxvi., xxxv., xxxvi., all of which relate to events that occurred in the reign of Jehoiakim, was at some time appended to ch. xxv. Chapter xxvi. narrates the utterance of the prophecy which is more fully preserved in ch. vii. The writer clearly belonged to the circle of Jeremiah, and was well acquainted with the circumstances to which he refers. In xxxv. 3 the prophet is himself the narrator; but in verses 18, 19, we have another hand.

Chapter xxxvi. must either have been written by Baruch, or by some one intimately associated with him. It may have been followed at one time by what is now ch. xlv. But at this point I must express a grave doubt as to the authenticity of the promises given to Jonadab in xxxv. 18, 19, to Baruch in xlv., and to Ebed-Melech in xxxix. 15—18, while I shall presently have occasion to question that of the narrative relating to the last-named worthy in xxxviii. 6—13. A reference to Dr. K. Kohler's article on "The Pre-Talmudic Haggada" (*JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, V., especially pp. 418, 419), and to that of Mr. A. P. Bender, headed, "Death, Burial, and Mourning" (*Ib.*, VI., p. 341, art. 6, and p. 343, art. 5, 10), will not only exhibit the position of these persons in early legends, but will suggest a possible motive for the insertion of the alleged promises. Abed-Melech was identified with Baruch (Kohler, *sup. cit.*, 419), and Baruch it would seem with Jonadab (Bender, p. 343, art. 10). The two identifications are of course incompatible, though they may perhaps serve to show that the connection between the passages under considera-

tion was early recognised. When, however, we read that "Jonadab ben Rechab, and Jabez the grandson of Jehuda, . . . are the real heroes of the Essene schools, the founders and continuators of the Nazirite customs from the *earliest ages*, as may be learned from Pliny and Philo" (Kohler, p. 418), and that "as such they occur in the very oldest Midrash traditions," it is impossible to refrain from putting the query, whether the promises to Jonadab, Baruch, and Ebed-Melech, are not in reality promises to the Essenes, or their fore-runners? Even the value of the moral and religious lesson conveyed in ch. xlv. suggests a purpose of edification rather than a narrative of fact. If we adopt this supposition, we are not obliged to assume that the three passages under discussion are of later date than the reference to the "families of scribes which dwelt at Jabez," in 1 Chron. ii. 55, iv. 9, 10. To the same age I would ascribe the narrative in Jer. xxxii. 6—27, 36, 43, 44; and if at this period "the priests that were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin" (Jer. i. 1*b*, where the Septuagint reads *ὁς κατέκει*—Cheyne) claimed to *inherit* from the prophet, a motive for its insertion is not far to seek. The case supposed would be parallel to that of the celebrated History of Croyland. If the reference to the priests in Jer. i. 1 is due to the same hand, it may still be possible that the father of Jeremiah was the discoverer, or author, of Deuteronomy. It is difficult to think of Jeremiah in the priestly character. (See especially vii. 21—23.) But such passages as xvii. 26, xxxii. 17—23, and xxxiii. 11, point to a priestly editor of the book which bears his name, at a date posterior to that of the second Jeremiah (who wrote the original words of xxxiii. 12, 13). The same late and imitative editor may also be responsible for interpolations in xxx., xxxi., and l, li.; perhaps even for the ascription of those chapters to the son of Hilkiah. The connection between the scribes of Jabez and the "house of Rechab," implied in 1 Chron. ii. 55 *ad fin.*, must not be overlooked. Equally noteworthy is the part assigned to Baruch in Jer. xxxii. 6—16. May we trace in xlv. 3—5, and xxxix. 16—18 a reference to the captivity under Artaxerxes Ochus?

Like chapters xxvi., xxxv., xxxvi., ch. xxiv. represents an addition to the original collection of prophecies contained in the chapters which precede it. But it belongs to the reign of Zedekiah. The prophet speaks in his own person; but the first verse has appended to it the usual editorial introduction ("After that . . . to Babylon"); and it is at least possible that the text of verses 6, 7 has undergone expansion. A mass of narratives and prophecies, belonging, as far as they are genuine, to Zedekiah's reign, at present intervenes between ch. xxvi. and ch. xxxv. It would be a better arrangement if ch. xxvii. were placed immediately after ch. xxiv. The position which it now

occupies may be due either to the blunder in the editorial date (verse 1) or to the general character of its predictions leading to its association with chapters xxv. and xxvi. In verses 2, 12, 16, and again in xxviii. 1, Jeremiah speaks in the first person. In xxviii. 5, *seq.*, we have another narrator. But in this case I cannot doubt the authenticity of the narrative. The same hand has perhaps transmitted to us the prophetic epistle which, with extensive interpolations, is preserved in xxix. 4—23, the response in verses 26—28, and Jeremiah's reply in verses 31, 32. The only genuine portions of xxx.—xxxiii., viz., xxxii. 28—35 and xxxiii. 4, 5, belong, according to the editorial introductions, to the period of Jeremiah's imprisonment during the final siege (xxxvii. 11, *seq.*). Chapter xxxiv. also will require to be considered in connection with those events.

If the eloquence of the prophet, his force of moral indignation, his passion, and his pathos were to be represented by a single example, we might well make choice of ch. xxii. Verses 10—12, alluding to the lamentations for the death of Josiah, and also to the captivity of Shallum or Jehoahaz, must have been written shortly after the accession of Jehoiakim. Verses 1—9 may belong to the same period, and verse 9 appears to refer to the reaction against the influence of Deuteronomy which probably marked this reign. The tremendous denunciation addressed to Jehoiakim in verses 13—19, and clearly arising out of a special occasion, must belong to a time when the character of the king and the nature of his government had too plainly declared themselves. Verses 1—12 may have been included in the first, verses 13—19 in the second roll (xxxvi. 32). Verses 20—30 belong to the brief reign of Coniah or Jehoiachin. (How far xxiii. 1—8 may be genuine I cannot confidently determine, but not, I think, beyond verse 4 at the farthest.) To this chapter of warning and judgment relating to Zedekiah's predecessors, has been prefixed a chapter belonging, it would seem, to the close of his reign. The concluding section (11—14) reads like a *résumé* of earlier utterances.

The preaching of Jeremiah was consistent, uniform, and, if you will, monotonous, with the monotony of gloom broken only by glimpses of hope which became yet more rare and transient, as the prophet watched with a broken heart the moral deterioration of his people, and the downfall of the State; uttering meanwhile with passionate earnestness but one repeated message, and that, he knew, in vain. No doubt similar occasions recurred, and were met with the same warnings. Yet if we possessed a more critical text of his prophecies, or a more systematic record of their delivery, it is probable that many apparent repetitions would disappear.

Chapter xxxvii. offers for the first time something like a continuous narrative, attached in the manner of a supplement to ch. xxxvi., and

extending after a fashion to xlv. But it is easy to demonstrate that this narrative is of the nature of a compilation from materials previously existing. After a connecting link in verses 1 and 2, there follows a passage which offers an interesting parallel both to xxi. 1—10, and xxxiv. 1—7, 21, 22. A detailed comparison may prove instructive. None of these passages is expressed in the first person, though of course Jeremiah may have placed on record the words which he uttered. Both xxi. and xxxiv. begin with the usual title, "The word which came unto Jeremiah from Jahveh." Chapter xxi. continues: "When king Zedekiah sent unto him Pashhur, the son of Malchiah, and Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah the priest, saying, Inquire, I pray thee, of Jahveh for us," etc. In xxxvii. 3 we read. "And Zedekiah the king sent Jehucal the son of Shelemiah, and Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah the priest, to the prophet Jeremiah, saying, "Pray now unto Jahveh our God for us." But the actual "word of Jahveh" in verse 7 informs us that the king of Judah sent to *enquire*, in agreement with xxi. 2. The occasion of the request is stated rather vaguely and unnecessarily in xxi. 2; "for Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, maketh war against us." It would seem from the reply (xxi. 4) that the siege was actually in progress. Zedekiah (verse 2) hoped that it might be raised. According to xxxvii. 4, 5, an editorial parenthesis, and according to the text of the oracle, *Ibid.* verses 7—10, the siege was really raised for a while, and it was during this interval that the oracle in question was delivered. But of this there is no mention in ch. xxi. On the other hand, the last two verses of ch. xxxiv. agree with ch. xxxvii. in referring to the departure and predicting the return of the Chaldeans (so xxxvii. ; in xxxiv., "the king of Babylon's army"). The occasion of the prophet's utterance recorded in xxxiv. 2—5, is stated twice over, vaguely after the title in verse 1; more briefly, but with the knowledge of a contemporary, in verse 7. There is, however, no proof that verses 2—5 belong to the same date with 13—22.

Of the passages under discussion, each has something peculiar to itself. Chapter xxi. is the most general in character, and the most appalling. It alone contains the counsel of desertion, which is quoted in xxxviii. 2, 3=xxi. 9, 10. Chapter xxxvii. 7—10, predicts in striking terms the resumption of the siege. Chapter xxxiv. 2—6, is essentially a personal assurance given, it may be privately, but at all events directly, by Jeremiah himself to Zedekiah. The promise in verse 5 is hardly to be reconciled with the language of xxi. 7. There is evidently intended a contrast with the threat in xxii. 18 and 19. It is curious to compare the latter with 2 Kings xxiv. 6 (2 Chr. xxxvi. 8 LXX., *vide* Q.P.B.), and the former with Jer. lii. 11 (2 Kings xxv. 7 *omits*). In ch. xxxiv., verses 21, 22 contain nothing original, but if

they are really an integral part of the text, they serve to show that the covenant of emancipation, suggested, we may suppose, by the necessities of defence, was set at nought on the departure of the invading army. A curious parallel may be found in *The Athenæum* for December 2nd, 1893, in a review of *The Rise of our East African Empire*, by Captain Lugard. "Writing," says the reviewer, "of the edicts issued by the Zanzibar sultans under our pressure, Capt. Lugard tells us of 'the issue of a series of high-sounding edicts calculated to ameliorate the position of the slave *if enforced* . . . The last . . . was issued on August 1st, 1890. . . This edict, had it ever been really put into execution, would not only have *immediately* improved the position of the slave, but in course of time would have practically put an end to domestic slavery, and that without prejudice to the vested rights and claims of owners. It was, however, largely superseded by a secret proclamation dated twenty days later, which annulled some of its most important clauses; nor am I aware that even the remainder of the Act has ever been put into force effectively, so that any single slave has gained his freedom in respect of it.'"

Upon the whole I conclude that the three oracles preserved in xxi. 1—10, xxxiv. 1—7, and xxxvii. 3—10 are in their most essential features authentic and independent. The narratives which we have next to consider, which relate the arrest and imprisonment of Jeremiah, his interview with Zedekiah, and consignment to a milder custody, in which he is detained until the city is taken, and his fortunes at the fall of Jerusalem, present much greater difficulties. According to xxxviii. 1—5, the motive for his arrest was furnished by "the words that Jeremiah spake unto all the people," recommending desertion (verses 2, 3, as in xxi. 8—10). This, as we have already seen, was during the first part of the siege, and it is plain that up to this moment the prophet was free (cf. xxxvii. 4 and xxxvi. 5—6). His arrest was effected during the interval that followed the temporary raising of the siege. According to xxxvii. 11, he was himself suspected of desertion. This may have been merely a pretext. The princes to whom, both in xxxvii. and xxxviii., the imprisonment of Jeremiah is attributed, did not perhaps venture to punish him for wordsspoken in his prophetic character (cf. xxvi. 16—19). In xxxviii. 1 the moving spirits include Pashhur, the son of Malchiah, and Jucal the son of Shelemiah, who had respectively received the oracles in xxi. 3—10 (here quoted) and xxxvii. 6—10. Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah the priest, who had been present on both these occasions, was, we know from xxix. 29, a friend to Jeremiah. Accordingly he is not here named. I have little doubt that the narrative in xxxviii. 1—5 should be followed immediately by that in xxxvii. 11—16, and this in turn by xxxviii. 14—28. Both the latter passages agree in

stating or implying that Jeremiah was imprisoned "in the house of Jonathan the scribe." I suspect that the text of xxxvii. 16 is the result of an attempt to reconcile this fact with the statement contained in the story of Ebed-Melech (xxxviii. 6—13), that the prophet was cast into "the dungeon of Malchiah, the king's son." In xxxvii. 16 we should perhaps read simply: "When Jeremiah had remained there many days, then Zedekiah, the king, sent," etc., as in xxxviii. 14. In ch. xxxvii., verses 17—21 are merely an inferior version of xxxviii. 14—28. Both begin and end with the same words, and the latter feature is shared by the story of Ebed-Melech, a plain indication that the three passages are not consecutive, but alternative. It may be observed that there is no necessary inconsistency between the topography of xxxvii. 17 and that of xxxviii. 14. The whole subject may be illustrated by reference to Ezek. xliii. 8 and Neh. iii. 25. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 2. It was at this crisis of Israel's history that the imprisoned prophet poured forth the dreadful threatenings imperfectly preserved in xxxii. 28—35 and xxxiii. 4, 5. The editorial parenthesis in xxxii. 2—5 ignores the real cause of his imprisonment.

Of his final release we have again two conflicting narratives. One which is perhaps of a piece with xxxviii. 14—28 originally ran as follows (so Driver, *Introd. Old Testament*, p. 248):—"And it came to pass when Jerusalem was taken, that all the princes of the king of Babylon came in, and sat in the middle gate [I omit the repeated enumeration]. And they sent and took Jeremiah out of the court of the guard, and committed him unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, that he should carry him home: so he dwelt among the people."

This is plausible. That Jeremiah had consistently counselled submission and even desertion, and had suffered imprisonment on that account, was a fact which might well have come to the knowledge of the Chaldean authorities, and have procured for him that favourable treatment which he had himself promised to others (xxi. 8, 9, and xxxviii. 17, 20). We owe it to the prophet to remember that, in his view, resistance to the Chaldeans meant resistance to the will, the purpose, and the servants of Jahveh.

A later editor has inserted in the text of ch. xxxix. two long parentheses (verses 1, 2, and 4—10) based on the general narrative which is preserved in lii. 4—16. Either the same, or perhaps an earlier writer, provides a second account of Jeremiah's release, which may be traced in verses 11, 12, and xl. 2—6. The first clause of xxxix. 13 is the result of an attempt to combine the two accounts. I do not rely upon the omission of verses 4—13 in the Septuagint, which may be due to *ὁμοιοτέλετον*. In a former article on *The Second Jeremiah*, I supposed xl. 1 to be a general title to the follow-

ing chapters (Cheyne on Jer. i. 3), but on closer study I am led to adopt the view that it is the title of a lost prophecy (Cheyne on xl. 1). It has the usual editorial parenthesis, giving a more probable account of Jeremiah's fate on the fall of Jerusalem than either of those already discussed. It may have supplied a basis for the second of these, which is otherwise, I fear, fictitious. All three accounts agree that Jeremiah was liberated by the Chaldeans; it may well be supposed, from the motives above suggested. It was probably anticipated that his influence would be, as in fact it was, exerted to promote submission, peace, and order, in the conquered country.

It might not unreasonably be expected that an analysis of the elements of this complex book would disclose some trace of a contemporary so much in sympathy with the teaching of the prophet as was the compiler of the Book of Kings. Accordingly, we find in the last chapter of Jeremiah (lii. 1—27) an historical narrative of a general character which has served as the basis of that in 2 Kings xxiv. 18—xxv. 21. The latter is indeed a mere abridgment of the former. One or two of its omissions, *e.g.*, the reference to Zedekiah's life-long imprisonment in Jer. lii. 11 (cf. 2 Kings xxv. 7, Jer. xxxii. 5, and xxxiv. 5), and that to "*the twelve brazen bulls that were under the bases which King Solomon had made for the house of Jehovah*" (Jer. lii. 20; cf. 2 Kings xxv. 16), are perhaps not merely due to the desire for brevity.

2 Kings xxv. 23—26 is based on the full and vivid narrative which begins at Jer. xl. 7, especially xl. 7—9, xli. 1—3, 18 ("because of the Chaldeans; for they were afraid of them"); xlii. 1 ("all the captains of the forces . . . and all the people, from the least even unto the greatest"); xliii. 7 ("and they came into the land of Egypt"). This narrative, like that just discussed, is of a general character, and contains, from xl. 7 to xli. 18, no reference to Jeremiah at all, not even in xli. 10, where it would have been natural to name him among "the residue of the people that were in Mizpah." Plainly, it was not originally designed for its present place in the book of Jeremiah. More probably it was intended as a sequel to the history of which we have the natural conclusion in lii. 27. A connecting link is to be found in 2 Kings xxv. 22, and it is to be observed that the statement there contained is pre-supposed by Jer. xxxix. 14, xl. 5, 7, 11, and xli. 2, 18. The concluding paragraphs of Jer. lii. (verses 28—30, and 31—34) are clearly of the nature of addenda. Verses 28—30 are omitted in the Septuagint and in the book of Kings.

Chapters xl.—xliv. form in the main a narrative of the settlement in Egypt. The redundant style and hortatory tone of this history are not more noticeable than its double purpose, namely, to discourage the Egyptian settlement, and to restrain the idolatries

practised in it. I cannot help asking whether in Isaiah xix. 18 *seq.* (especially verse 19), we have a memorial of this colony from an opposite point of view.

In xl.—xliv., as in xxxvi., we must admit the influence, though we cannot tell the hand, of Baruch, the son of Neriah. After the brief episode relating to him in ch. xlv., follow, in the Hebrew text, the two prophecies against Egypt, which are thus appropriately placed in the neighbourhood of xl.—xliv. Canon Cheyne (*Pulpit Comm.* on xxxii.) has called attention to the parallel between the purchase narrated in that chapter, and a similar incident in Livy xxvi. 11. I do not know whether any one has pointed out the curious resemblance between the language of xlv. 22, and that of Livy xxi. 22 (the dream of Hannibal): “Tum vidisse post sese *serpentem* mira magnitudine *cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri*, ac post insequi cum fragore cœli nimbū. Tum, quæ moles ea quidve prodigii esset, quærentem audisse, *vastitatem Italiæ esse*; pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.” The last words remind one of the obscure clause in verse 23, “for it cannot be searched.” On verse 20 a classical friend suggests the story of Io.

From chapters xl. 7—xliv. it would appear that the documents which formed the basis of this book, so far as they were the work of either Jeremiah or Baruch, and had escaped destruction in the successive misfortunes which befell the prophet, must have existed for a while in Egypt. On the other hand, there may well have been among the captivity of Jehoiachin, as well as among the later exiles in Babylonia, persons such as Ezekiel possessing copies of the famous Roll, and also of such later utterances as ch. xxiv. and the letters in xxix. Remote as were these two colonies from one another, we may perhaps infer from Is. xix. 23 the probability of occasional communication between them. Lastly, the interpolations which I have ascribed to the Second Jeremiah, seem to be addressed to the exiles in Babylonia from the ruins of Jerusalem (xxx. 8; l. 5; li. 50, 51). Out of such diverse elements has the book of Jeremiah been built up. I shall conclude this paper by putting, with much diffidence, the query, whether in the freedom of the Septuagint version from certain interpolations, some of which at least were made in the interest of the exiles in Chaldea, and would doubtless enjoy currency at Jerusalem after the Return, we may trace the influence of an Egyptian recension of the original text? (Cf. Cheyne on xlv. 15 and 17.)

ADDENDUM.—Sir Henry Howorth's recent advocacy of the text of the LXX. induces me to observe that, so far as the question can be decided by the evidence of subject-matter and arrangement,

the four omissions of xxx. 10, 11 ; xxxiii. 14—26 ; xxxix. 4—13 ; and li. 44—49 ; appear to be due in the two former cases to intentional and mistaken correction, in the two latter to carelessness and *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*, and by no means to the transmission of an earlier and purer text. They do not accord with any stage of its composition. Even the omission of xxix. 16-20 ("Babylon . . . Babylon") may be due to accident. Are these verses less genuine than vv. 10-14 ?

II.—CHAPTERS L., LI.

WHEN writing on the Second Jeremiah, in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW for January, I was tempted to abandon the problem of which I now hope to offer an approximate solution. The key to the riddle of these chapters is, I think, to be found (1) in excising from the text passages analogous to the interpolations in ch. xlviii., and due to a copyist who pleased himself by padding it with mechanical imitations, or rather plagiarisms ; and (2) in recognising that certain portions of these chapters have suffered such exceptional displacement as can only be accounted for on the supposition that the text is derived from the fragments of a torn manuscript. With these qualifications there is perhaps no sufficient reason why the whole, of course excepting li. 59—64, should not be ascribed to a single hand, namely, that of the Second Jeremiah.

If we strike out as spurious l. 39—46, li. 15—19, 36*b*, 37, 43, 47, 48, 52, 53, perhaps 55*a*, and certainly 58*b*, the remainder, with the possible exceptions of li. 41, 54, will furnish us with a text, disordered indeed, but substantially genuine. In l. 2, however, the latter clauses of the verse ("her images are put to shame, her idols are dismayed"), clearly intended as a substitute for those which immediately precede them, are doubtless due to the same hand which in li. 47, 52 has effected a similar improvement on the model afforded by li. 44, acting in both cases in a literal accordance with the precept of Ex. xxiii. 13. I have previously suggested that this verse should run simply—

"Declare ye among the nations, and publish, and conceal not : Babylon is taken, Bel is put to shame, Merodach is dismayed."

The words, "Set up a standard," may be derived from the commencement of another section, and I suppose their insertion may have led to the repetition of the verb "publish." This verse is the commencement of a long passage (concerned mainly with denunciations against Babylon), which I shall denote by the letter A, and which, with three interruptions, extends from l. 2 to verse 32. Two of these interruptions, viz., verses 4—7 and 17—20, are properly consecutive parts of a single complete and beautiful utterance, which may with propriety be appended to verse 32, or to the similar and probably cognate promises in verses 33, 34. The place of verses 4—7 I propose to fill by the insertion of verses 35—38, which, as the text

stands, are manifestly torn from their context. It is possible that 4—7 and 35—38 should simply exchange their respective positions in the present text. We need have little hesitation in replacing verses 17—20 by li. 20—23, when we observe that the latter passage is connected by many points of contact with l. 21—25, and with no other part of either chapter. On similar grounds l. 28 may be prefixed to li. 10. I would group together l. 4—7, 17—20, 33, 34 and li. 5, to form a second section, B, concerned mainly with promises to Israel. The letter C I reserve to indicate the spurious element in l. 39—46, etc. D will stand for the section which begins at li. 1 and terminates at verse 26. Besides the removal of verse 5 and the insertion of l. 28 before verse 10, I would suggest that the first two clauses of verse 11 should be transferred to verse 12, reading as follows :—

“ Make sharp the arrows ; hold firm the shields ; set up a standard against the walls of Babylon.

“ Make the watch strong, set the watchmen, prepare the ambushes.

“ For the LORD hath both devised and done that which he spake concerning the inhabitants of Babylon.”

The removal of verses 15—19 and 20—23 leaves an *hiatus* which cannot be filled up until we have examined the concluding portions of the chapter. At verse 27 begins a new section (E), concluding with verse 33 (cf. Is. xiii. 22), which should, I think, be preceded by 58*a*, omitting the introductory formula, “ Thus saith the LORD of hosts.” These words may have been prefixed to 58*a* when, as I suppose, by some accident of transcription or injury to the MS., that sentence became separated from verse 32.

I use the letter F to indicate the original conclusion of the prophecy which, I think, consisted of verses 45, 46, 49—51, 34—36*a*, 44,¹ in *that order*. This section is clearly related to B. The verses which remain to be accounted for, I propose to arrange as follows, employing them to fill up the *hiatus* in D, after li. 14.

“ (54) The sound of a cry from Babylon, and of great destruction from the land of the Chaldeans ! (41) How is Sheshach taken, and the praise of the whole earth surprised ! How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations ! (42) The sea is come up upon Babylon : she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. (55*b*) And their waves roar like many waters, the noise of their voice is uttered : (56) For the spoiler is come upon her, even upon Babylon, and her mighty men are taken, their bows are broken in pieces : for the LORD is a God of recompences, he shall surely requite. (57*a*) And I will make drunk her princes and her wise men, her governors and her deputies, and her mighty men ; (39*a*) when they

¹ Omitting the last clause of verse 44.

are heated, I will make their feast, and I will make them drunken that they may rejoice. (38) They shall roar together like young lions; they shall growl as lions' whelps. (40) I will bring them down like lambs to the slaughter, like rams with he-goats. (57*b*) And they shall sleep a perpetual sleep and not wake, saith the king, whose name is the LORD of hosts."

I need not transcribe verses 24—26, which I suppose should follow the foregoing passage. But a few words are necessary in justification of such a rearrangement. After verse 14 we naturally expect some fuller description of the shout raised by the invaders upon their entry into the city. I find it in verses 54, 41, 42, and 55*b*. Before verse 24 we seek predictions of vengeance, expressed in the person of Jahveh. These are to be found in verses 57*a*, 39*a*, 38, 40, 57*b*. The link between these two elements is supplied by verse 56. The genuineness of verse 54 (cf. *xlvi*. 3), and verse 41 (cf. *xxv*. 26), is very questionable, but I have inserted both verses, and connected them together, on account of their parallelism with *l*. 22, 23. If they are spurious, then verse 14 might be followed immediately by the grand image of verse 42, the comparison of invasion to inundation (contrast verse 13, "O thou that dwellest upon many waters," and cf. *Isaiah* *xxviii*. 17), so appropriate to the plains of Shinar. It is impossible to deny the glaring discrepancy between 42 and 43, which latter verse I regard as spurious. Compare in verse 53 the absurd application to the level site of Babylon of imagery originally applied to the rocky fastness of Petra (*xlix*. 16 = *Obad*. 4). In 55*a*, the first words involve unnecessary repetition, while the clause, "destroyeth out of her the great voice," whatever it may mean, is strangely out of harmony with the image of tumult in 55*b*. On the other hand, the connection of 55*b* with verse 42 is unmistakable. Equally so is that between 57 and 39. Nor will any one familiar with the style of the prophets hesitate to admit that 40 should be placed in direct juxtaposition with 38. A somewhat simpler arrangement than that adopted above would be as follows, 57 (*a* and *b*), 39*a*, 38, 40. It is possible that this group of verses should come after, instead of preceding verse 24, which would then be brought into immediate connection with verse 56. So in like manner it may be questioned whether *li*. 20—23 should precede or follow *l*. 21. But in general I have limited myself to what appeared the *least* amount of transposition required by the sense. In both chapters the passages which I have inserted in positions from which other passages are removed, are as a rule of about the same length with those which they replace. One curious result of these transpositions and omissions is to reduce the two chapters of the prophecy nearly to an equality in number of verses (*ch. l*. = Title + A + B = 1 + 30 + 11 = 42 verses. Chapter *li*. = D + E + F = 26 + 8 + 9

=43 verses *approximately*. If we omit the title in ch. l., and in li. verses 54 and 41 already discussed, each chapter will contain 41 verses ; or, inserting title and colophon, " Thus far are the words of Jeremiah," 42). Another result is to impart to their contents a certain degree of symmetry, each commencing with threatenings against Babylon, and closing with a section of words of comfort to Israel.

There seems little reason to suppose that this prophecy *in its original form* was the work of a period later than B.C. 536, or of a hand subsequent to the writer of Isaiah xiii. In particular the eschatological tone of that chapter, the weird, supernatural accompaniments of " the day of Jahveh," in which Isaiah xiii. accords with Jeremiah iv. 23—26, appear to me to suggest a later, not an earlier date, than that of Jeremiah l., li. in which these elements are wholly absent. In the present number of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW I have touched upon the possibility that all three passages are the work of one author. Equally remarkable is the absence in Jeremiah l., li. (omitting interpolations) of any clear trace of the influence of the true Second Isaiah, the principal source of Isaiah xl.—lxii. This points, I think, to an earlier date than that of chapters xxx., xxxi. in which such traces are abundant, unless, indeed, we suppose that the earlier portions of those chapters in which these references are concentrated, have undergone extensive interpolation, perhaps at the hand of the compiler of l. 39—46.

In taking leave for a while of the book of Jeremiah, I may be allowed to repeat the wish which I began by expressing, that someone more competent than myself would grapple with the questions which I have only raised because, while they are still unsolved, the structure, history, and contents of this book must remain in great measure unintelligible. On the other hand a complete outline of the process by which the book of Jeremiah attained its present form, and of its relation to the books of Lamentations, Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremiah, would furnish an epitome or specimen of the history of the text and canon of the Hebrew Scriptures.

GREY HUBERT SKIPWITH.

NOTE.—On comparing 1 Sam. ii. 36, and 1 Kings ii. 26, 27, 35, together with Robertson Smith's Note, O.T.J.C., 2nd ed. p. 266, it seems not improbable that Anathoth, perhaps after the death of Abiathar, may have passed into the possession of the rival house. In this case Jeremiah's connection with the spot would be a consequence of his being the son of the High Priest Hilkiah. I cannot put down my pen without a word of sorrow for the great scholar and teacher whose *Prophets of Israel* first enabled me to understand the Bible.